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OFFICE OF NATIONAL ESTIMATES

5 May 1967

STAFF NOTE

SUBJECT: Some Irreverent French Thoughts on the NPT

1. The arguments for the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty (NPT) were convincingly demolished in an article in the summer 1965 issue of Orbis. However, the conclusion of that article -- "the Department of State appears to be on the side of diplomatic wisdom," i.e., against the NPT -- proved to be incorrect. Now that the French have refused to negotiate, the Germans and Italians have expressed their uneasiness, the Indians their misgivings, and William C. Foster, Director of the U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, has been to Tokyo explaining to the baffled Japanese how the treaty benefits them, it might be useful to review some impious French comments on the subject.

2. American-Soviet Collusion - The NPT is yet another indication of American-Soviet collusion over the heads of the

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rest of the world. The two superpowers, both armed to the teeth, are in effect presenting the non-nuclear countries with a fait accompli whose purpose the latter are not only expected to approve, but also to applaud. Faithful to their celebrated national craving for popularity, the Americans already are exhibiting hurt feelings over what they interpret as lack of appreciation by the intended recipients of unselfish American concern for their welfare. Yet, what they and the Soviets are proposing is purely and simply permanent and unilateral disarmament -- of everyone else.

3. The Role of the United Kingdom - It comes as no surprise to find the British heartily in favor of the treaty. They remain the tail to the American kite, as they always have been, and once again are willing to accommodate the Soviets to the detriment of European security. (One remembers Mr. Macmillan's efforts in this respect, happily frustrated by General de Gaulle.) Here is yet another example, if any more were needed, that Great Britain is not a European country.

4. Treaty-itis Again? - What is the practical utility of the treaty? It disarms only the unarmed and leaves the armed free to continue their personal, reserved proliferation.

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Moreover, France will not sign the NPT and China has been excluded from the negotiations between the US and the USSR. None of the present white nuclear powers has ever indicated any willingness to distribute nuclear arms to other countries. But China, an aggressive country according to the Americans (despite scant evidence to support this contention), will be free to share its knowledge with anyone it pleases. The treaty is therefore useless and the supposed concern over the spread of nuclear weapons a mere invention by the two superpowers. Indeed, the artificial scare over nuclear proliferation has been cleverly contrived for the purpose of maintaining joint American-Soviet hegemony by bullying the smaller states into unilateral disarmament and permanent vassalage. It is to France's credit that she refuses to be a party to such a transparent plot. (But perhaps we are being uncharitable towards our ancient allies. Perhaps they are merely suffering from a relapse of treaty-itis brought about by a resurgence of the legal mind after a temporary eclipse following Mr. Dulles' demise. It is in fact well-known that lawyers are excessively represented in the American government, particularly in Congress.)

5. The Atlantic Community - The NPT negotiations fore-

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shadow what the so-called Atlantic Community would really be like. The Soviets and Americans would decide that a treaty on a given subject is desirable. The Americans would then present the agree-upon version to their "allies," who would be "consulted" on the terms. Naturally, the benefits of the treaty would be couched in the moralistic language at which the Americans are so adept. But the consultation would be only for appearance's sake and only to the extent of allowing the expression of reservations on minor points, after which the treaty would be adopted substantially as presented. In the case of the NPT, despite the obvious reluctance of the Germans and Italians to accept it, it probably will be signed. The same scenario would occur in other fields in which the Americans and Soviets find it convenient in their own interests to collaborate. This is why Europe must not be indissolubly linked to the Americans: America's interests are not necessarily Europe's.



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